

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07
TRSE-00 CU-02 OIC-02 AID-05 EB-07 EPG-02 STR-04
OMB-01 CEA-01 AF-10 MC-02 /108 W
-----161815Z 096351 /44

O R 161746Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5163
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 10000

USEEC, ALSO FOR EMBASSY
BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: EC, UK
SUBJECT: JUNE 14-15 EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING

1. CSCE. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS DISCUSSED THE
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YUGOSLAV CSCE SECRETARIAT'S NEGATIVE ATTITUDE REGARDING
EC REPRESENTATION AT BELGRADE AND THE NAMEPLATE ISSUE
FOR TWO HOURS. ALTHOUGH THE BRITISH DELEGATION WAS
DIRECTED TO MAKE A STRONG ORAL STATEMENT ON THE SUBJECT
IN THE FIRST CLOSED SESSION, WE WERE TOLD THERE IS
LITTLE INCLINATION AMONG THE NINE TO HAVE A MAJOR ROW
IN BELGRADE ON THIS ISSUE. THE EXPERTS' PAPERS ON THEMES

AND NEW PROPOSALS WERE REFERRED BACK TO THE WORKING GROUP FOR COMPLETION, AFTER WHICH THEY WILL BE TABLED AT NATO.

2. EASTERN EUROPE. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS APPROVED THE WORKING GROUP PAPER ON SOVIET POLICY IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA. THE STUDY'S PRINCIPAL CONCLUSIONS WERE (1) SOVIET INTEREST IN DETENTE IS PARAMOUNT AND THUS IT IS UNLIKELY THE RUSSIANS WOULD WELCOME AN EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA; (2) INCREASED US INTEREST IN THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA HAS STRENGTHENED THIS PARTICULAR SOVIET CONSTRAINT; (3) SOVIET SUCCESS IN ANGOLA WAS A RESULT OF UNIQUELY FAVORABLE CONDITIONS, BUT DID SHOW THAT THE SOVIETS ARE WILLING TO TAKE CAREFULLY CALCULATED RISKS. THE USSR HAS AN IDEOLOGICAL OBLIGATION TO ASSIST AFRICAN LIBERATION GROUPS, BUT PRAGMATISM PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN SOVIET DECISION-MAKING CONCERNING THE CONTINENT; (4) CONSTRUCTIVE WESTERN ACTION WHICH WOULD ASSIST PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA QUESTIONS WOULD AT THE SAME TIME REDUCE SOVIET INFLUENCE. THUS THE OPTIMUM SITUATION FOR SOVIETS WOULD BE A PROLONGATION OF THE GUERRILLA STRUGGLE; (5) THE SOVIETS WILL HAVE DIFFICULTY KEEPING THEIR RECENT GAINS, NOT LEAST BECAUSE SOVIET IDEOLOGY IS NOT LIKELY TO HAVE LASTING APPEAL EVEN IN ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE AND SOMALIA; AND (6) AS LONG AS REGIONAL CONFLICTS CONTINUE IN AFRICA, SOVIETS WILL RETAIN SCOPE FOR CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE.

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3. AFRICA. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS APPROVED THE EXPERTS' STUDY ON SOUTH AFRICA. HOWEVER, THE NINE HAVE NOT YET AGREED ON: (1) THE TIMING OF A POSSIBLE DECLARATION OF THE EC ON APARTHEID; (2) WHAT ROLE, IF ANY, THE BUSINESS SECTOR IN SOUTH AFRICA PLAYS AS A FACTOR FOR CHANGE; (3) THE ADVISABILITY OF AN ARMS EM-

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BARGO; AND (4) WHAT ECONOMIC ACTION, IF ANY, COULD BE
TAKEN THROUGH THE UN IN ADDITION TO AN ARMS EMBARGO.
AMBASSADOR MURRAY FROM UK UN BRIEFED THE NINE ON THE
CONTACT GROUP'S EFFORTS CONCERNING NAMIBIA AND THE
BRITISH GAVE THEIR PARTNERS A SHORT SITUATION REPORT ON
RHODESIA. FINALLY, THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS APPROVED A
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REPORT BY THE AFRICAN WORKING GROUP ON THE HORN WHICH
CONCLUDED: (1) ETHIOPIA IS HIGHLY UNSTABLE POLITICALLY
AND THE GOVERNMENT IS UNLIKELY TO RESTORE ITS AUTHORITY
IN ERITREA; (2) THE DEVELOPMENTS IN DJIBOUTI ARE
POSITIVE ALTHOUGH THERE REMAINS THE POSSIBILITY OF CON-
FLICT BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA OVER THE AREA; (3)
SOVIET INFLUENCE IN SOMALIA IS BEING ERODED, BUT
SOMALIA'S FUTURE ORIENTATION WILL DEPEND IMPORTANTLY
ON ALTERNATIVE ARMS SUPPLIES; (4) SOVIET POLICY IN THE
AREA IS LIKELY TO ATTEMPT TO LIMIT CONFLICT BETWEEN

SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA IN ORDER TO ENHANCE USSR INFLUENCE IN BOTH; (5) THE INTERESTS OF THE EC AND THE WEST COINCIDE WITH THOSE OF THE MODERATE ARAB REGIMES WHICH WILL ATTEMPT TO COAX THE SOMALIS AWAY FROM THE SOVIETS.

4. ASIA. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS NOTED WITHOUT DISCUSSION RECENT EXPERTS' STUDIES ON EC RELATIONS WITH ASEAN COUNTRIES, DEVELOPMENTS ON THE SUB-CONTINENT, EC CONTACTS WITH AUSTRALASIA AND THE SITUATION IN CHINA.

5. CYPRUS. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS NOTED THAT, ALTHOUGH THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WERE GOING ON, THERE HAD BEEN NO SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS BECAUSE OF THE TURKISH PRE- AND POST-ELECTION SITUATION. THEY CONCLUDED IT WAS DOUBTFUL IF THE TURKS WOULD MAKE ANY EARLY MOVE AND AGREED THAT THE EC COULD ONLY KEEP THE SITUATION UNDER REVIEW AND BE PREPARED TO BECOME MORE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IF AND WHEN AN APPROPRIATE MOMENT SHOULD ARISE. THERE WAS A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE BRITISH PAPER ON THE AEGEAN AND GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT THERE WAS VERY LITTLE TRADEOFF BETWEEN THE AEGEAN PROBLEM AND THE CYPRUS ISSUE. THE ITALIANS BRIEFED THEIR PARTNERS ON RECENT CONTACTS WITH THE MALTESE.

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